

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 150811
ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-15 DHA-02 AID-05 IGA-02 MC-02 ACDA-10 OMB-01
EUR-12 IO-14 /114 R

DRAFTED BY EA/IMS:ECINGRAHAM:CCH
APPROVED BY EA/IMS:EDWARD C. INGRAHAM

-----119533 290506Z /21

R 282345Z JUN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

UNCLAS STATE 150811

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SHUM, MASS

SUBJECT: REPORT OF WOLFF SUBCOMMITTEE ON VISIT TO
INDONESIA

REF: JAKARTA 8420.

1. REPORT OF WOLFF SUBCOMMITTEE ON ITS APRIL 8-21
MISSION TO ASIAN COUNTRIES WAS PUBLISHED JUNE 19. COPIES
OF REPORT WILL BE POUCHED EMBASSY. FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS
OF THOSE PORTIONS OF REPORT DEALING WITH INDONESIA.

2. AFTER BRIEF FACTUAL DESCRIPTION OF INDONESIAN VISIT
AND OF CHAIRMAN WOLFF'S CONCLUDING PRESS CONFERENCE,
REPORT COMMENTS AS FOLLOWS ON MEETINGS WITH INDONESIAN
LEADERS:

QUOTE: PRESIDENT SUHARTO LED OFF A VERY FRANK 1-HOUR
MEETING WITH THE MISSION BY EVIDENCING A FULL AWARENESS
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PAGE 02 STATE 150811

OF UNITED STATES AND CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS, PARTICULARLY
ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. THE PRESIDENT SPOKE AT LENGTH
ON INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, THE IMPORTANCE OF RURAL
DEVELOPMENT TO AID THE POOR, AND SPECIFICALLY ON HUMAN
RIGHTS AS THEY RELATED TO THE SITUATION ON EAST TIMOR.

THE PRESIDENT STRESSED THAT CURRENT, CONSTITUTIONALLY

CONDUCTED ELECTIONS WOULD CHOOSE A PARLIAMENTARY GROUP, WHICH, SUPPLEMENTED WITH CERTAIN APPOINTED MEMBERS, WOULD FORM A PEOPLE'S CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY. THE ASSEMBLY WOULD DETERMINE NATIONAL POLICY, AND, AT SOME FUTURE DATE, HELP ELECT A PRESIDENT AND A VICE PRESIDENT.

INDICATING DISPLEASURE WITH RECENT PRESS ARTICLES ON INDONESIA, PRESIDENT SUHARTO STRESSED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVES ARE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, PEACE, INTERNAL ORDER, AND EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME. HE DESCRIBED AT SOME LENGTH EFFORTS BY HIS GOVERNMENT TO IMPROVE THROUGH SUBSIDIES THE LOT OF THE 85 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WHO LIVE IN RURAL AREAS.

TURNING TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE, THE PRESIDENT, WITHOUT DIRECTLY REFERRING TO THE CURRENT POLITICAL PRISONERS, SAID HIS GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO FREEDOM FOR THOSE CITIZENS WHO ACCEPT THEIR CIVIL RESPONSIBILITIES.

REGARDING EAST TIMOR, THE SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN INFORMED THE PRESIDENT THAT TIMOR WAS A MATTER OF GENUINE HUMANITARIAN CONCERN IN THE UNITED STATES. PRESIDENT SUHARTO GAVE A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLONIAL SITUATION, THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS ON EAST TIMOR, AND CONCLUDED THAT THE INDONESIAN INTERVENTION CAME AFTER REQUESTS FROM UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 150811

THE PEOPLE IN EAST TIMOR ITSELF.

FOLLOWING THE DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE MISSION MET BRIEFLY WITH DEFENSE AND ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER PANGGABEAN, THEN ATTENDED A FULL-SCALE DEFENSE BRIEFING ATTENDED BY THE SENIOR MILITARY COMMANDERS AND DEFENSE STAFF, WHO EXPLAINED THEIR NEED FOR U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE.

THE INDONESIANS STRESSED THEIR SUBSTANTIAL REQUIREMENT TO MEET LONG-RANGE DEFENSE STRATEGY, WHICH THEY DESCRIBED AS SAFEGUARDING THE CONSOLIDATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIA, AND DEVELOPING NATIONAL STRENGTH TO MEET ALL POTENTIAL THREATS. THE PLANNERS ALSO SAID THEY WISHED TO HELP PROMOTE REGIONAL COOPERATION SO THAT PEACE AND STABILITY WOULD AID INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

SPECIFICALLY, THE GENERALS ESTIMATED THAT IT WOULD COST 1.5 BILLION DOLS TO BRING THEIR PRESENTLY INADEQUATE DEFENSE RESOURCES THROUGH A LONG-RANGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. THEIR STAFF NOTED THE RELATIVELY MODEST 2.4 PERCENT OF INDONESIAN DEVELOPMENT FUNDS ALLOCATED FOR

MILITARY PURCHASES. THEY DID NOT DIRECTLY REQUEST ADDITIONAL U.S. AID, INSTEAD EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF ANY TYPE OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, OF FOREIGN MILITARY SALES.

THE BRIEFING CONCLUDED WITH A LENGTHY DISCUSSION BY GEN. BENNY MURDANI, DIRECTOR OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR.

ON THE QUESTION OF USE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT HE REPLIED SIMPLY "INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES ARE EQUIPPED 90 PERCENT WITH U.S. EQUIPMENT". THE GENERAL THEN DETAILED GOVERNMENT PLANS TO RELEASE OR TRY CATEGORY A, B, AND C

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04 STATE 150811

POLITICAL PRISONERS BY 1979.

AMBASSADOR NEWSOM COMMENTED THAT IN THE EMBASSY'S VIEW OFFICIAL MEETINGS WITH CODEL, PARTICULARLY IN THE HANKAM BRIEFING, WERE FRANK. THE AMBASSADOR FELT THAT CODEL SOUGHT AND, DESPITE THE RELATIVELY SHORT VISIT, OBTAINED "AS CLEAR AN EXPOSITION OF INDONESIAN OFFICIAL POLICY ON SENSITIVE ISSUES AS WE HAVE SEEN". UNQUOTE.

3. IN SECTION DISCUSSING MILITARY ASSISTANCE, REPORT HAD FOLLOWING TO SAY ABOUT INDONESIA:

QUOTE: BECAUSE OF ITS STRATEGIC POSITION, RECENT ECONOMIC SETBACKS AND RELATIVE NEGLECT OF MILITARY IMPROVEMENT IN FAVOR OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, INDONESIA DESERVES THE MODEST LEVEL PROPOSED FOR ONE ADDITIONAL YEAR. UNQUOTE.

4. IN SECTION DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IN ASIA, REPORT STATED AS FOLLOWS REGARDING INDONESIA:

QUOTE: AS WAS MENTIONED AT THE OUTSET OF THIS REPORT, THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA, AND PARTICULARLY ON EAST TIMOR, RECEIVED THE CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE IN HEARINGS PRIOR TO THE MISSION, AND BY A TASK FORCE DURING THE MISSION. WHILE FULL REPORTS ARE PRESENTED IN THE APPENDIX, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE SUBCOMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR SHOULD NOT OUTBALANCE THE OVERALL U.S. INTEREST IN INDONESIA.

INDONESIA ALSO HAS A HISTORY SIMILAR TO SOUTH KOREA'S, WHERE AN EMERGENCY SITUATION IMPACTS UPON POLICIES

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 150811

WHICH AFFECT HUMAN RIGHTS. INDONESIA DID EXPERIENCE A TRUE EMERGENCY IN THE LATE 1960'S, AND THERE REMAIN POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM THOSE ARRESTED AT THAT TIME.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE WAS PRESENTED WITH A DETAILED TIMETABLE OF GOVERNMENT PLANS TO RELEASE ALL CATEGORIES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS BY 1979. UNQUOTE.

5. APPENDIX TWO OF REPORT CONSISTS OF REPORTS BY CONGRESSMAN GOODLING AND REPRESENTATIVE MEYNER DESCRIBING THEIR VISITS TO EAST TIMOR. BELIEVE EMBASSY ALREADY HAS TEXT OF CONGRESSMAN GOODLING'S REPORT, WHICH HAD BEEN ISSUED EARLIER. (IF NOT, LET US KNOW AND WE WILL CABLE TEXT). REPRESENTATIVE MEYNER'S REPORT STATED AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: ON MARCH 23, 1977, A JOINT HEARING WAS HELD BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS TO CONSIDER THE REPORTED MASS ATROCITIES IN EAST TIMOR DURING THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORY BY THE INDO-NESIAN FORCES BEGINNING IN DECEMBER 1975. TESTIMONY WAS RECEIVED BY ROBERT OAKLEY, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, JIM DUNN, DIRECTOR OF THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE, AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT, MARIO CARASCALAO (LEADER OF UNIAO DEMOCRATIC PARTY) AND JOSE GONCALCEZ, TIMORESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL.

MR. DUNN TESTIFIED ON THE BASIS OF REPORTS FROM TIMORESE REFUGEES IN PORTUGAL. THESE REFUGEES HAD REPORTED TO HIM THAT INDONESIAN FORCES HAD COMMITTED GROSS ATROCITIES AGAINST TIMORESE PEOPLE. MR. CARASCALAO AND MR. GONCALCEZ, REFERRED TO THE ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE FRETILIN (AN ACRONYM FOR FRENTE REVOLUCIONARIA DE TIMOR LESTE INDEPENDENTE, THE EAST TIMORESE PARTY WHICH SOUGHT INDEPENDENCE).

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 150811

SEVERAL ISSUES WERE THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION AT THE HEARING:

(1) THE QUESTION OF THE USE OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT BY THE INDONESIANS IN THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR. WAS THE USE OF SUCH EQUIPMENT IN COMPLIANCE

WITH U.S. LAWS REGARDING SECURITY ASSISTANCE? IT WAS
DISCLOSED DURING THE HEARING THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
HAD ADMINISTRATIVELY SUSPENDED MILITARY AID TO INDONESIA
FROM DECEMBER 1975 TO JUNE 1976.

(2) DID THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO
FREELY EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION? UNDER
INDONESIAN SUPERVISION AN "ACT OF FREE CHOICE" WAS HELD
IN WHICH THE CHIEFTAINS OF EAST TIMOR AFFIRMED THEIR
SUPPORT FOR UNION WITH INDONESIA. THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINUE TO
RECOGNIZE EAST TIMOR AS A NONSELF-GOVERNING TERRITORY.

AS A RESULT OF THE HEARING, THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA
INVITED MEMBERS OF THE TWO SUBCOMMITTEES TO VISIT EAST
TIMOR. REPRESENTATIVE MEYNER ACCEPTED THE INVITATION.

ON BEHALF OF REPRESENTATIVE MEYNER THE SUBCOMMITTEE
STAFF BEGAN TO DISCUSS WITH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS
ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE VISIT. THE DEPARTMENT IN TURN WAS
IN COMMUNICATION WITH INDONESIAN OFFICIALS. HAVING
EXTENDED AN INVITATION FOR A CONGRESSIONAL VISIT, THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA WAS IN GENERAL DETERMINED TO
RETAIN CONTROL OVER THE TRIP ARRANGEMENTS. IT WAS NOT
HAPPY AT CERTAIN REQUESTS BY SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF TO MEET
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 150811

PRIVATELY WITH EAST TIMORESE INDIVIDUALS, OR PROPOSALS
THAT WE BRING AN INDEPENDENT INTERPRETER. AS THE TIME
FOR THE ACTUAL VISIT TO EAST TIMOR DREW NEAR, OTHER
REQUESTS ON BEHALF OF REPRESENTATIVE MEYNER AND STAFF
FOR SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS WERE LIKEWISE POLITELY IGNORED.
IN SHORT, IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDONESIA
WOULD CONSIDER EFFORTS TO TAMPER WITH OR QUESTION ITS
ARRANGEMENTS AS AN UNGRACIOUS RESPONSE BY GUESTS OF THE
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT. AS A RESULT THERE WAS LITTLE FREE
TIME FOR CONVERSATIONS WHICH WERE NOT DIRECTLY IN THE
PRESENCE OF INDONESIAN OFFICIALS; THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHOM
THE DELEGATION ASKED TO SEE WERE AVAILABLE ONLY, IF AT
ALL, IN THE CONTEXT OF PUBLIC GROUP MEETINGS.

THERE WERE ONLY 2 WEEKS TO ARRANGE THE MECHANICS OF A
SIDE TRIP TO EAST TIMOR, AND THE NORMALLY DEMANDING
DETAILS OF SUCH A VISIT AT SUCH A DISTANCE WERE EVEN
MORE COMPLICATED. DURING THAT TIME, EFFORTS TO ARRANGE
A SCHEDULE MORE SUITABLE TO THE PURPOSES OF THE DELEGA-
TION WERE GENERALLY THWARTED. REQUESTS MADE BY
MRS. MEYNER AND STAFF FOR A LIMITED ITINERARY WITH AMPLE
FREE TIME FOR INDIVIDUAL APPOINTMENTS MET WITH FRUSTR-

TION. IN FACT, IT WAS ONLY AFTER WE BOARDED THE AIRCRAFT IN KUPANG, WEST TIMOR, AND MET WITH GOI OFFICIALS WHO WERE TO ACCOMPANY US THROUGHOUT THE TRIP, THAT WE BEGAN TO LEARN THE ITINERARY. WE WERE INFORMED THAT WE WERE TO VISIT THE TOWNS OF VIQUEQUE AND BAUCAU, WHERE WE WOULD STAY OVERNIGHT.

EVEN AT THE LAST MOMENT OUR URGING THAT WE LIMIT OUR VISITS TO BAUCAU AND DILI, AND STAY OVERNIGHT IN DILI, WERE FRUSTRATED. INDONESIAN OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO CHANGE OUR SCHEDULE SINCE PEOPLE WERE EXPECTING US IN EACH OF THE SCHEDULED STOPS.

WE REITERATED OUR DESIRE TO MEET WITH CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 150811

AND PRESENTED THE LIST WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN TO INDONESIAN OFFICIALS IN JAKARTA. OUR INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT EXCORT OFFICERS SAID THEY HAD LEARNED OF OUR REQUEST BUT THAT SUFFICIENT TIME WAS NOT PROVIDED TO FULFILL THIS REQUEST.

ON APRIL 14, WE VISITED VIQUEQUE AND BAUCAU. WE STAYED OVERNIGHT IN BAUCAU. ON APRIL 15, WE VISITED BOBONARO AND DILI.

IN EACH TOWN THE FORMAT WAS FAIRLY SIMILAR. WE WERE RECEIVED BY LARGE AND FRIENDLY CROWDS INCLUDING CHILDREN DRESSED IN UNIFORMS AND TRIBAL PEOPLE IN COLORFUL INDIGENOUS DRESS. BOTH AT THE AIRSTrips AND IN PROCEEDING TO THE VILLAGES WE WERE GREETED WITH BANNERS, SIGNS, AND CHANTS SAYING "VIVA INDONESIA, VIVA SUHARTO, VIVA JIMMY CARTER", AND EVEN SOME SAYING "VIVA U.S. CONGRESS". UPON ARRIVING AT EACH VILLAGE, WE WOULD PROCEED TO A MEETING HALL. THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE VILLAGE OR SOMETIMES SEVERAL LOCAL OFFICIALS WOULD FORMALLY ADDRESS THE DELEGATION.

FOLLOWING THESE SPEECHES OTHER TIMORESE WOULD MAKE STATEMENTS OR ASK QUESTIONS OF US. THE TIMORESE SPOKE IN PORTUGUESE AND THEIR COMMENTS WERE INTERPRETED INTO ENGLISH. THESE MEETINGS WERE ALWAYS HELD IN THE PRESENCE OF INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

AT EACH OF THESE MEETINGS THE TIMORESE EXPRESSED THEIR AFFIRMATION OF INTEGRATION WITH INDONESIA. THEY NOTED THAT UNION WITH INDONESIA MADE SENSE IN TERMS OF GEOGRAPHY, ETHNIC BONDS AND COMMON HISTORY. PARTICULAR EMPHASIS WAS PLACED ON TIMOR'S ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 150811

TIONAL AND HEALTH REQUIREMENTS, AND THE CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT TO HELP IN THIS REGARD.

THE TIMORESE OFTEN REFERRED TO ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE FRETELIN WHEN THEY HAD BEEN IN CONTROL. THEY INDICATED RESENTMENT TOWARDS FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO SEEK TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF TIMOR. THEY ALLEGED BAD FAITH ON THE PART OF SOME WHO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS AUSTRALIA WAS SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM.

IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO MEET WITH FRETELIN FORCES NOR DID WE ATTEMPT ANY SUCH MEETINGS. NO EVIDENCE OF FRETELIN ACTIVITY WAS NOTICED BY THE DELEGATION AND

INDONESIAN CONTROL OF THE FIVE TOWNS WE VISITED APPEARED SECURE. IN SOME TOWNS LOCAL MILITIA SEEMED FAIRLY NUMEROUS. VERY FEW INDONESIAN FORCES WERE NOTICED, ALTHOUGH WE WERE INTRODUCED TO SEVERAL INDONESIAN OFFICERS.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS STATED THAT THERE WERE ONLY A FEW HUNDRED FRETELIN TROOPS REMAINING. THEY HAVE BEEN OFFERED GENERAL AMNESTY AND A NUMBER HAVE SURRENDERED.

(1) RESTRICTIONS ON THE TRIP MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO REACH FIRM CONCLUSIONS ON (A) THE QUESTION OF WHETHER THE TIMORESE HAVE FREELY CHOSEN INTEGRATION WITH INDONESIA, AND (B) THE QUESTION OF ALLEGED ATROCITIES BY INDONESIAN OR FRETELIN FORCES. THE INDONESIANS WERE CONCERNED ABOUT OUR SECURITY AND THIS MAY EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR THE RESTRICTIONS.

(2) THE DELEGATION RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT THE
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UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 150811

TIMORESE PEOPLE WERE SATISFIED WITH INDONESIAN INTEGRATION. IT APPEARED AS THOUGH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT WAS MAKING A DETERMINED EFFORT TO ASSIST TIMORESE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

(3) THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO INVESTIGATE THE CHARGES OF INDONESIAN OR FRETELIN ATROCITIES AS ALLEGED IN THE

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO INDICATION OF ONGOING REPRESSION; QUITE THE CONTRARY, THE PEOPLE APPEARED FREE AND UNINHIBITED.

(4) THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO INVESTIGATE THE EXTENT OF CURRENT USE OF U.S. MILITARY EQUIPMENT IN THE CONFLICT WITH FRETELIN FORCES. LOCAL MILITIA WERE ALL ARMED WITH STEN GUNS OR NATO TYPE SMALL ARMS.

THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS ARE ADDRESSED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR ITS CONSIDERATION. IT IS HOPED THAT THE DEPARTMENT CAN PURSUE ALL OR SOME OF THESE RECOMMENDATIONS WITH THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES:

(1) NEITHER THE U.N. NOR THE FORMER COLONIAL ADMINISTRATOR OF EAST TIMOR, PORTUGAL, HAVE ACCEPTED THE INTEGRATION OF EAST TIMOR AS PART OF INDONESIA. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT CHALLENGE THE POSITION OF THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT THAT EAST TIMOR HAS BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA. HOWEVER, THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT PROFITABLY BE ENCOURAGED TO ADDRESS

THE TASK OF ARRIVING AT SOME MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULA UNDER WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS COULD SEND A VISITING MISSION TO EAST TIMOR.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 150811

(2) IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS (ICRC) WERE PERMITTED TO VISIT EAST TIMOR FOR THE PURPOSE OF (A) PROVIDING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, AND (B) STUDYING THE CONDITIONS OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

OTHER NONGOVERNMENTAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS MIGHT ALSO BE PERMITTED TO ENGAGE IN RELIEF WORK IN EAST TIMOR. UNQUOTE.

6. APPENDIX THREE CONTAINS ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BY STAFFER JOHN SALZBERG. SECTION ON INDONESIA IS AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: IN ADDITION TO THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE COVERED IN THE APPENDIX, MR. SALZBERG MET WITH INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN THE PROBLEM OF THE RELEASE OF PERSONS DETAINED SINCE THE COUP ATTEMPT IN 1965. THE FOLLOWING VIEWS WERE PRESENTED AT THESE INTERVIEWS:

(1) SOME HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER THE GOVERN-

MENT OF INDONESIA WILL RELEASE THE DETAINEES (ESTIMATED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO BE 30,000) BY 1979 IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT MAJOR GENERAL MURDANI (CHIEF OF STAFF FOR INTELLIGENCE) QUALIFIED THIS PLAN IN HIS STATEMENT TO THE MISSION. HE SAID THAT THE 1979 DEADLINE WOULD BE MET PROVIDED IT GOES ACCORDING TO PLAN, AND BUDGETARY CONSIDERATIONS ALLOW.

(2) SOME HAVE EXPRESSED DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER THE INDONESIANS WILL COMPLETELY FREE THE DETAINEES, BUT WOULD INSTEAD RESTRICT THEM TO "TRANSMIGRATION CENTERS". IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT SOME OF THE DETAINEES RELEASED LAST YEAR WERE SENT TO TRANSMIGRATION CENTERS.

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PAGE 12 STATE 150811

(3) PRIVATE ESTIMATES VARY BUT SOME INDICATE THAT APPROXIMATELY 50,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS PRESENTLY EXIST, RATHER THAN THE INDONESIAN ESTIMATE OF 29,329. THE FORMER FIGURE WOULD INCLUDE ALL DETAINEES, NOT JUST THE LONG-TERM DETAINEES.

(4) ARRESTS CONTINUE FOR ALLEGED "COMMUNIST TENDENCIES".

(5) WHILE IT WAS NOTED THAT RELEASED DETAINEES OFTEN HAVE DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING JOBS AND ADJUSTING TO A NEW LIFE, IT WAS NOT BELIEVED THAT REPRISALS AGAINST THEM WAS LIKELY. (THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT HAS OFTEN STATED THIS ARGUMENT IN DEFENSE OF THEIR CONTINUED DETENTION).

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, LOWER HOUSE, COMMITTEES, VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 28-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE150811
Document Source: CORE
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Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770231-0868
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770610/aaaaaihd.tel
Line Count: 475
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3dfd7f72-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 JAKARTA 8420
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1991781
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: REPORT OF WOLFF SUBCOMMITTEE ON VISIT TO INDONESIA
TAGS: PINT, SHUM, MASS, OREP, US, ID, XC, (WOLFF, LESTER L)
To: JAKARTA
Type: TE
vdkgvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3dfd7f72-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009